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AUTHOR Whitfield, Patricia T.; Klug, Beverly J.

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ABSTRACT

The Knight Scholars Program--a collaborative project between Heritage College (Washington), three local school districts, and one tribal school--aimed to increase the number of Native American teachers in Washington. The project sought to develop programs to facilitate the teacher preparation of Native American instructional aides and to assist candidates in understanding and addressing the special problems faced by Native American students in K-12 settings. This paper examines factors that contributed to the academic and professional success or failure of 17 Native American teacher-aspirants (Knight Scholars) selected from paraprofessionals in 4 cooperating school districts. These individuals represented varying degrees of acculturation (traditional, acculturated, and bicultural), and 90 percent were low-income. Primary project strategies included: (1) integrating opportunities for education majors to investigate the impact of multigenerational trauma on themselves and their students; (2) developing opportunities for project participants to put theory into practice in field-based classrooms; and (3) assisting in the development of educational planning, school/college partnerships, culturally appropriate educational programs, emphases on tribal language and culture in schooling, and college offerings to facilitate the foregoing components. Semi-structured interviews with the 17 Knight Scholars, as well as a 3-year ethnographic study of the program, indicate that participants integrated 2 world views and recognized their need for Western education to become effective teachers, were proud of their own and the program's success, reported growth in self-confidence and professional competence, and saw themselves as role models and mentors for Indian youth. (Contains 20 references.) (SAS)

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NURTURING THE SEVENTH GENERATION: A THREE-YEAR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF NATIVE AMERICANS WHO WOULD BE TEACHERS

Patricia T. Whitfield, Ph.D., Dean, Division of Education & Psychology and Professor, Heritage College, Toppenish WA

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Beverly J. Klug, Ed.D., Associate Professor, College of Education, Idaho State University, Pocatello ID

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... After everybody had talked and Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox had talked, General Stevens wanted to hear from the head Chief of the Yakimas He said, "Kamiakan, the Great Chief of the Yakimas, has not spoken at all. His people have had no voice here today. He is not afraid to speak - let him speak out."

... Governor Stevens told the Indians that when the white man came here the rights of the Indians would be protected. Then Chief Kamiakan said, "I am afraid that the white men are not speaking straight; that their children will not do what is right by our children; that they will not do what you have promised for them.

- McLuhan (1971)

Background: The demographics of American schools have changed exponentially over the past several decades with the increasing diversity among children in K-12 settings. Yet, the composition of the teaching force has not kept pace (Alston, 1988; Anglin, 1991; Kaufmann, 1988). Teacher preparation programs have struggled to recruit greater numbers of non-Euro-Americans into teaching and to enable non-minority educators to work more sensitively with diverse students (AACTE, 1987; Haberman, 1989; Nicklas and Contreras, 1988).

Among the clientele of the Nation's schools who lack teachers who are bicultural role models - those who can themselves, and assist children to, successfully navigate two cultures - are Native American children.

> With only minor exceptions the history of Indian education has been primarily the transmission of white American education, little altered, to the Indian child as a one-way process. The institution of the school is one that was imposed and controlled by non-Indian society...its goals primarily aimed at removing the child from his aboriginal culture and assimilating him into the dominant white culture (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1973).

The process of deculturalization has had profoundly dysfunctional effects on generations of Native American children in the United States (Cajete, 1994; Nieto,

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1995). Schooling for Indian children has frequently overlooked the integrity of their cultural values and practices in both thought and behavior (Collins, 1994). Social structures, learning styles and communication processes have been inconsistent with cultural norms in most Native American societies (Pai, 1990).

Further, college campuses have not been friendly to those who have attained entry into post-secondary education (Barone, 1994; Tierney, 1991). Thus, many of those who have entered higher education so optimistically have failed, with the exception of a very few who participated in beacon programs like those at Dartmouth (Garrod and Larrimore, 1997) or tribal colleges (Noriega, 1992). Themselves the victims of multigenerational trauma, many Native American college students might have benefited from teaching/learning strategies addressing the special needs of at-risk Indian children and youth (Brendtro, Broken Leg, and Van Bockern, 1990).

Description and Purposes of the Study: There is a profound need for bicultural teachers in America's schools - those who can successful negotiate two cultures. Heritage College, located in Toppenish, Washington has a very specific mission: *to provide quality higher education to educationally underserved, geographically isolated, culturally diverse populations* primarily in central Washington. The College's student body is composed of approximately 20 percent Native Americans and 30 percent Hispanics, mostly of Mexican origin. The College is situated on land deeded to it by the Yakama Indian Nation and one of the founders is a leader in the Yakama national educational system. (Note: the traditional spelling of the Nation is *Yakama.* In some citations throughout this paper, the Anglicized spelling, *Yakima,* is left as written in those documents).

The goal of the project, funded by the Knight Foundation and described in this paper, was to design a collaboration between Heritage College and three local school districts as well as one tribal school to increase the number of Native American teachers. The participants were named "Knight Scholars" and shall be referred to as such throughout this document. The project's objectives were: (1) to develop programs to facilitate the professional preparation of current Native American instructional aides to become teachers to serve as positive role models for Native American pupils, and (2) to assist candidates in understanding and addressing the special problems faced by Native American students in K-12 settings.

The purpose of the study was to determine those factors which contributed to the academic and professional success or failure of seventeen (17) Native American teacher education aspirants selected from among paraprofessionals in four (4) cooperating school districts in a northwestern state. These individuals repesented varying degrees of acculturation: *traditional* which desribes those adhering more to Native American mores and values; *acculturated* which describes those who are more European* or mainstream

*** The term "Eurpean" rather than "White" or "Anglo" is the preferred term used by participants in this project and will be used in this document to preserve the autheticity of their words.**

American in their outlook; and *bicultural* which describes those who could walk both paths with comfort and could usually code-switch effectively. The student demographics of the four districts ranged from as low as 17 percent to as high as 100 percent Native American. Not less than 90 percent of students in all four districts were classified as low income.

The project to develop the Native American teachers had three primary strategies: (1) to integrate opportunities for education majors to investigate the impact of multigenerational trauma on themselves and their students; (2) to develop opportunities for the project participants to put theory into practice in field-based classrooms; and (3) to assist in the development of educational planning, school/college partnerships and setting priorities which encourage parent-based, culturally appropriate educational programs, tribal language and culture as a responsibility in schooling, more Native Americans to become professional teachers, and college offerings which facilitate the three foregoing components.

Data sources: The element of the project described in this presentation is a three-year ethnographic study of the teacher education students in the program. Data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews directed at identifying:

- the barriers they encountered in their efforts to attain a baccalaureate
- a comparison of their experiences at their present college with those at prior institutions
- identification of ways their course of study helped them in their work as para-professionals
- how their course of study enabled them to contribute a Native American perspective in the courses at the college
- elements of schooling their experiences indicated which advanced or deterred education compatible with Native American values
- changes they perceived in their professional working relationships as they progressed through their academic programs.

Historical background: To fully understand the cultural history of the participants in this project, it is important to explicate the significance of the Treaty of 1855 to the Yakama people, with special emphasis on its educational components. The Indian peoples belong to sovereign nations, the land base of which is the territory between the boundaries of the United States and Canada. As with all nations after war, treaties are signed between the warring parties pledging peace in return for concessions such as land, along with other conditions. The same was true in this country after the Indian Wars of the 1700's and 1800's between the United States and the various Indian nations. The U.S. government claimed territories for victory; in return Indian peoples were given land bases (reservations), compensatory monies, fishing and hunting rights, and guarantees for health care and education.

An irony of these treaty provisions is that they were distributed to the Indian peoples through the Department of War. Existing army bases were utilized to fulfill this obligation, as well as new army forts built for this specific purpose. Soldiers patrolled areas which were now part of the United States, just as nations do to this day when the victors acquire the spoils of war. The fourteen tribes which comprise the Yakama Indian Nation were joined together by the Treaty of 1855. As in other areas of the west, Fort Simcoe was established following the signing of the treaty with the express purpose to carry out the treaty's terms. As a result, soldiers at Fort Simcoe built the boarding schools, hospitals, and facilities at the site. Article 5 of the Treaty of 1855 make provision for two schools for Yakama children, one of which was to be agricultural and the other industrial.

The soldiers were responsible for bringing bands of Indian peoples onto the Yakama reservation from the territories which had been ceded to the United States government. As with other tribes throughout North America, one of the issues associated with this ceding of land was the way in which Indian people were brought to the reservation. There are stories among the Yakama of ancestors who were brought on forced marches in chains, and of the many people who perished en route. Another issue is the compatibility of tribes or bands on reservations. In some instances, people who were traditional enemies were brought to live in close contact with each other. The forcing of large numbers of people of diverse backgrounds into a small area with limited resources engendered in some of the native people a sense of despair, which often permeated the reservation systems. This feeling of hopelessness was expressed by Chief Black Hawk (1833):

> *I am now an obscure member of a nation that formerly honored and respected my opinions. .. May the Great Spirit shed light on yours - and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to, is the wish of him, who, in his native forests, was once as proud and bold as yourself.*
>
> - Ma-Ke-tai-me-she-kia-kiak or Black Hawk to General Atkinson, 1833

One of the several important provisions included in the treaties between the United States government and Indian tribes was a guarantee of free public education to the Indian children. Initially, this provision was carried out through the creation of boarding schools which the children attended. Sometimes the boarding schools were located on the reservations, but often they were located at great distances from a child's family. Therefore, children were separated from their families at an early age and made to conform to European ways which were very foreign to them and their families.

The issue of the boarding schools has played a major role in the way Indian peoples have perceived Western education and Europeans in general. For some, the boarding schools provided opportunities which the children might not have had otherwise, such as in the case of Jim Thorpe who developed his athletic talents while

attending Carlisle Indian School. Conversely, for many the boarding school experience was detrimental as the children learned they were not as good as European children and that their cultures were inferior to the European culture to which they were being introduced, sometimes in a manner that could be labeled as brutal.

The boarding school systems have evolved over time. At first they followed the military model established by Richard H. Pratt, a former U.S. Army colonel . Pratt instituted haircuts and military drills at the schools and insisted that the children follow a military way of life (Irving, p. 4). In the 1930's and 1940's the schools began to follow a more lenient approach, resembling more closely other types of K-12 schools with sports activities and less isolation from the students' families.

Day schools were established in the 1920's by the Commission of Indian Affairs, John Collier, as an alternative to boarding schools. The New Deal was instrumental and "encouraged the Bureau of Indian Affairs to take a less antagonistic stance toward Native cultures and traditions (Irving, p. 10)." In the 1950's, another shift in the education of Indian students occurred when they began to attend schools in local school districts. At this point, the stage was set for the closing of many of the Indian boarding schools in the United States (Irving, p. 19).

Historical implications for this project: While many of the Yakama elders have resisted Western education in the past, there are also many who concede today that contemporary American education is the key to opening the doors of success to their youth. There is a concomitant recognition that the youth need to become bicultural, functioning both as contributing members of the Yakama Nation and within the Western-oriented system of the United States.

Yet, the boarding school experience its left its mark on many older people. It must be noted that, while time is an important European construction, for Indian people past, present, and future can be indistinguishable. What has happened in the past may be as real as what happened just yesterday. The Indian people's ability to transcend time is accomplished partly through the use of storytelling. And the boarding school stories of the elders still permeate Yakama society.

We have stories
as old as the great seas
breaking through the chest
flying out the mouth
noisy tongues that once were silenced,
all the oceans we contain
coming to light

- Linda Hogan, Chickasaw

Stories are used not only to teach the values and mores of the tribe, but also to serve as warnings of what can happen because of what did happen. While listening to stories of elders' experiences in boarding schools, children are also taught important lessons about Europeans who run the schools. Unfortunately because of the lack of contact with other Europeans, many times the stories then become generalized warnings about all Europeans.

The information acquired throughout this Knight Scholar Project reflects the ambivalent feelings of Indian people regarding the boarding school experience and its generalizations to all European-based schooling. The questions of how the boarding schools are perceived within families is one of providing opportunity or mandating deculturalization, depending upon who attended the boarding schools when, and the attitude which was passed down to the children concerning the experience by older family members.

One Knight Scholar explained that boarding school meant to her something to eat and a way to escape some of the responsibilities associated with a very large family. Her mother wanted her to be successful in school and in learning the new ways. Yet, because her mother had attending the boarding school herself, she would not teach the native Sahaptin language to her children. She had experienced severe punitive measures to wrest her native tongue from her and did not want her children to suffer the same plight.

As an adult, this participant has never lacked friends and knows many people who attended boarding school with her from around the country. She believes she is able to "walk both paths", even when her understanding of European culture is incomplete. She also recognizes that there is a part of her that misses her native culture and she is trying to re-acquire that culture. Simultaneously, she views herself as an exemplar for her own children and students where she works of how one can "make it" in two worlds.

Findings of the project:

Investigation of the impact of multigenerational trauma on the participants:

During the project's second year, a regular scheduled seminar was implemented to allow for project participants to integrate theory and practice, to form a support group for one another, and to investigate issues of importance to them. These, and the annual summer Indian Education Institute incorporated activities to enable participants to consider, either purposefully or according to felt need, issues of multi-generational trauma.

The Knight Scholars program has proven to be an effective bridge between participants and Heritage College, a formal college environment. Students report that they feel welcome at the College, partly because Knight Scholars learn that they can integrate their own heritage and formal college education, and that doing so is met with approval, not condemnation. One student expressed that the program allowed him to evaluate who he was. Another indicated that the program "grounded her." She realized that she couldn't be European when her

roots were Indian. She states that she now feels stronger in her self and her belief systems.

All of the interviewees related special challenges encountered in completing their programs. The commented about family, and that while it was difficult to break through the traditional roles for Yakama men and women, they were determined to do so in order to reach their goals. "Trying to walk both paths" when one had been brought up in a traditional way was very difficult. Yet, the participants were becoming bicultural, many for the first time. An example given by one individual was that of an English critique class. Yakama do not criticize each other outright. so, her understanding of what was required for the class was very different due to cultural misunderstanding.

Another participant stated that she was now drug and alcohol free. Having a goal and wanting her grandchildren to have grandparents who were not dependent on alcohol was the reason she gave for this change in her life.

A certainty among participants of "better things to come" has replaced the hope for better things among the participants interviewed. Such a paradigm shift does not develop quickly, but requires many years of overcoming obstacles. The Knight Scholars Program has made it possible for that shift to occur through its clear goals for students and the support, both financial and emotional, provided for them. For students like most Knight Scholars who have had difficulty at other institutions, as indicated over the three years of interviews with them, the ability to perceive themselves as academically successful does not come automatically.

The creation of a learning community at Heritage College which encourages these students towards academic success and allows them to feel pride in what they can bring to the learning environment has made it possible for a change in self concept to occur. Being selected as a Knight Scholar itself has been identified by participants as a special privilege and is associated with special recognition in which they feel considerable pride. This last effect was not reported during the first year of interviews, but was almost unanimous in the third year.

During the most recent Indian Education Institute, in which Knight Scholars were actively engaged, a special field trip was planned to Fort Simcoe, the site of a boarding school attended by their parents and/or grandparents, and in some cases, by one or two of the older scholars. There are many bitter memories among the Yakama about the forced removal and relocation plan the brought the Yakama to Fort Simcoe.

On the present day site of Fort Simcoe, just a few buildings remain. Others are marked on a map and by markers where they once stood. One artifact posted on the wall of military quarters showed the work which had been accomplished

during one week, including delivering monies to Indian people and bringing Indian people to the reservation.

Participants discussed Fort Simcoe as an educational site. A European participant mentioned that she always had happy memories of the Fort as she and her family had picnicked there often. In a poignant contrast, the Indian participants relayed stories of how their ancestors were brought, unwillingly, in chains, to the fort. They told of the many Indian people who were lost on the trek as they walked, often hundreds of miles in the dead of winter, from their homelands to the fort. Early arrivals at the fort often resented latecomers, many of whom were their traditional enemies, and saw their allotted land shrinking with each new entourage that came. The "hanging tree" still stands, a symbol of dread to Yakama people today as it was where transgressors for often misunderstood rules were punished.

The dialog fostered by the trip to Fort Simcoe enlightened European participants about actual experiences of their Indian companions' ancestors. Suddenly, pages from history texts had pictures and names attached, many of them relatives of Knight Scholars. An atmosphere of sobriety prevailed.

As mentioned earlier, Knight Scholars have been actively involved in the summer Indian Educator institute. In the 1997 Institute, a Knight Scholar who has graduated and is teaching brought a student panel to discuss the challenges they as teenagers, face in schools. Most often, these youth cited their problems with drugs and/or alcohol. Ranging from middle school through high school, they identified how they had first become involved in these activities, and why they continued self-destructive behaviors even when they know what they were doing to their minds and bodies.

An issue that emerged was that of gang-related activities. One student decided to straighten out his own life after his brother shot his cousin in an effort to prove himself worthy of gang membership. He feared he might never be able to live without the stigma of his brother's actions. In interviews with Knight Scholars, one was the aunt of the boy who committed the murder, and was not sent to jail. The tribe did not punish the youth, believing that murder is a capital offense beyond its jurisdiction, while the federal court would not handle the case because the boy was juvenile. The aunt disclosed this in her interview, claiming that this jurisdictional conflict was one of the problems of the tribes, because they were subject to too many differing governmental regulations some of which did not work at all while others were contradictory. Consequently, the wrong messages are sent to the youth.

Across the three years of interviews, Knight Scholars have expressed their concern for the youth with whom they work as drugs, alcohol, and dropping out of school have high incidence among them. In many cases, the Scholars themselves struggled with these issues. They seek to be role models for "making

it."

Developing opportunities to put theory into practice in field-based classrooms:

All of the Knight Scholars are employed in either school districts or at the Yakama Tribal School, mostly as paraprofessionals. Before they could put theory into practice in their work settings, they had first to come to terms with themselves as learners in their college courses.

One student told of her own background and how she had been chosen to "walk both paths" by elders. This occurred when elders realized that they might be in danger of losing their language and traditions. As a child, she spoke only the Sahaptin language. She did not attend school for a long time and, when she did attend, she wore clothing made by her grandmother which was very different from that of her peers. She has had lifelong difficulty with the English language due to speaking primarily Sahaptin in her childhood, but she respects the decision of her elders to raise her as she was. "If the creator didn't want me to finish (my education), I wouldn't have". She has learned to "walk two paths" although she admitted that the task has been difficult.

The Knight Scholars program has worked seriously to provide linkage between the Indian and European worlds, and Scholars report that the program has provided them a "window" to the non-Indian world. Three scholars stated that they can now see how history and English have their places, where they could not previously do so. Not only were they able to succeed in these courses, but they reported that they could see beyond the mere requirement of taking them and actually understand <u>why</u> the courses would help them in their teaching. This understanding unlocked a vision for the Scholars to perceive a broader view of the world of "knowledge" in the Western sense. They stated that they learned that Western education was not only for Europeans, but for them also. As a result, they reported that they no longer saw learning as they once had. According to one Scholar:

> The overall feeling was, why go to school ? There was so much feeling of rebellion. You're not supposed to ask questions of your elders; you listen and learn. We didn't have schools before Europeans. Words were never wasted. You need to know what you need to do. Words are energy ! Don't need to waste it ! Words are the weapons of Europeans.

Knight Scholars have come to value getting high grades in their coursework, and are very proud of their success. As one participant declared, "The grades are high and it feels good to hear my family, my mother especially, talk so well about me. "

One participant commented that she is more verbal in class now. Many traditional or less bicultural Indian students speak more slowly than their classmates because they are translating "from Indian to English" in their heads. This happens even if they do not speak Sahaptin or have an incomplete working knowledge of the language. Students report weighing their words against the traditional admonishment of "speak only when you have something important to say." For them, it has taken courage to add to class discussions, especially if they have been raised traditionally.

One student expressed that she was more at ease with her professors now, and, consequently, more verbal in her classes, as well. This scholar stated that she is "finding that I'm not stupid." Two parents where she works as a paraprofessional have already asked her when she will be finished with her degree so that she can teach their children. She felt very honored at the parents' request.

Three Scholars commented that they now feel as good as other college students. Non-Indian students at Heritage College are contributing to the feelings of acceptance perceived by Indian students. Two Scholars stated that they now know they can receive assistance from other students in understanding what is required in their courses. Indian students also feel they are able to exchange cultural information within classroom settings as situations arise. Previously, they would have remained silent. They report they now feel they can contribute their own unique view to classroom discussions.

One student commented that there are still so many stereotypes of Indian people, even at Heritage College. She described an incident wherein a male student had talked about a pow wow as characterized by "naked Indians dancing around a bonfire." She corrected him, and he was surprised to learn differently. She then invited him to a pow wow, but he never came.

Five students talked about the fact that they had been able to finish what they had set out to do, which was to obtain their teaching credentials. They reported feeling more confident in themselves and their abilities because of their degrees. Another student declared that she can "see the light at the end of the tunnel." She knows she will finish her program. Still another Scholar who completed the program stated that after thirteen years of being a paraprofessional, she has attained her goal, "Always the teacher directed the show. Now I have the show."

Two interviewees discussed understanding their personal areas of strength now and described changing their majors to accommodate this knowledge. Two other individuals reported that they now have better relationships with the teachers with whom they work. Yet another said that she now had more confidence, had interviewed for a position and gotten it.

Scholars who are now teachers feel positive about their capabilities as classroom teachers and believe they have the skills necessary to work within the school system with other teachers, parents and administrators. Several Scholars believe they are role models for their own Indian students. They can encourage Indian youth to stay in school by talking about their own experiences. One individual discussed with her students about going to school at Heritage every day after work. The youth were always surprised that she would do that, but she believed they respected her for her efforts and reflected on her words.

One Scholar indicated that she now gets the pupils no one else can deal with and she is able to help them see there is a different way for them to handle their responses. Two scholars reported going to regional and national conferences with the Knight Program coordinator to give talks on Indian culture. This was very important for them to do, and they took pride in their abilities to share with non-Indians the knowledge they had. They conjectured that they could not have done this before becoming Knight Scholars. Another individual stated that she can now relate better to teachers in the schools and at the same time knows where her values and habits come from.

One Scholar believed she had gained a greater understanding of how non-Indian teachers work differently from Indian teachers.

Assist in the development of educational planning ,school/college partnerships, and setting priorities which encourage, parent-based, culturally appropriate educational programs, tribal language and culture as a responsibility in schooling, and college offerings which facilitate the foregoing components: Students involved in the Knight Scholars Program have perceived the dual support of Heritage College and the Yakama Nation. The majority of Scholars involved in the program have been raised traditionally, regardless if they are full-blooded Yakama or not. They spent many of their young years with grandparents who taught them traditional values and ways to live, which have been mentioned in all three years of interviews. Having the support of the Yakama Nation, as evidenced publicly by the opening of each Indian Education Institute with prayers and smudging, the establishment of a native plant garden on the Heritage campus, and the teaching of the Sahaptin language as part of the curriculum, reaffirm for Knight Scholars the commitment of both entities to support them in their endeavors to complete higher education degrees.

Participants report that the teaching of the Sahaptin language on campus is a link between the old and the new. While some of the tribal elders still object to their language being taught, this issue was not raised in interviews with Knight scholars during the most recent round. One Scholar who has graduated was the first person in the State of Washington to be certified in bilingual education in English/Sahaptin.

One of the efforts of Heritage College to bridge the gap between the Indian and mainstream cultures has been hosting the annual summer Indian Education Institute. This usually occurs during the first week of August and has as its goal to educate teachers and others about working with Indian students in the classroom. Not only do outside and local experts make presentations to the Indian and European participants, but tribal elders always attend, and for the last two years Knight Scholars have participated actively. The Scholars have developed culturally relevant units of instruction to be presented to the Institute participants. This experience has given them a "real life" opportunity to organize purposeful instruction and share it with educational professionals.

Some Knight Scholars have made national presentations about the program and Indian culture at conferences of such organizations as the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE), the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), and the National Indian Education Association (NIEA). These opportunities, they have reported, have developed their self confidence and appreciation of their own knowledge base as well as their capacity to inform other professionals.

Several Knight scholars are active participants in another Heritage College initiative, the Exemplary Multicultural Project in Rural Education project (EMPIRE). One serves on the leadership team and another serves on the school-based leadership team. EMPIRE is committed to reducing prejudice and building multicultural understanding in schools and communities and involves thirteen schools in five school districts throughout the Yakima Valley. Several years ago, both of these individuals sat quietly at meetings. They now make presentations and speak up on issues of significance to them.

Several Scholars are Native Culture teachers in the schools where they work. Their assignments range from Early Childhood settings through high school. To date, seven Scholars have completed the program, five more will graduate this year, and the others are well on their way.

The College curriculum has been designed to be culturally relevant. There are Native American literature courses, the Sahaptin language is taught, non-Western philosophies are addressed, and tribal religious and ceremonial events are honored. For example, Heritage College does not drop students from classes due to extended absence during mourning periods. There is a strong Academic Skills program, which has served for many students as a springboard to the Dean's List, ultimately.

Conclusions: The three year ethnographic study of the Knight Scholars Program has yielded the following conclusions :

1. Participants recognize the need for Western education today in order to be

effective teachers.

2. The Knight Scholars Program has facilitated in participants a greater integration of two world views.
3. Knight Scholars are proud of their success in attaining their college education, including getting high grades.
4. Individuals in charge of the Knight Program are perceived as advocates for the Scholars as they learn to "work through" a higher education system.
5. There is a sense of pride in being a Knight Scholar that has emerged over the course of the three years. It s associated with the deep meaning of success in achieving one's goals.
6. Indian students perceive their own success as mirrored in the graduation of other Knight fellows.
7. Knight Scholars report growth in personal self-confidence and in competence in their professional settings.
8. Scholars who have completed their degrees have become advocates for the Knight Scholar Program and for Heritage College.
9. Scholars perceive themselves as role models and mentors for Indian youth.

Recommendations: The Knight Scholars Project can serve as a model for others who seek to work effectively with Native Americans. Special attention should be given to the conflict that Indian people may encounter within an educational institution steeped in Western thought. A challenge to Indian candidates is the struggle between obtaining a higher education while retaining their cultural values, which may conflict. Quite frequently, Native American candidates come from a socioeconomic stratum that requires considerable financial and other material support. Funding such as that in the Knight project enables candidates, especially those identified by their districts, the opportunity to complete their degrees and gain certification.

A final thought: The Knight Scholars will form a critical mass of role models for Indian youth , and can form a bridge between cultures leading to better and more informed decisions as described by Cajete (1994):

> Indian people must determine the future of Indian education. That future must be rooted in a transformational revitalization of our own expressions of education... We must truly think of the seventh generation of Indian children; for it is they who judge whether we are as true to our responsibility to them as our relatives were to us seven generations before."

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